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AN OUTLINE OF SERBO-CROATIAN NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY, PART II.

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THE PAPER DESCRIBES MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SERBOCROATIAN NUMERALS, PRONOUNS, AND ADJECTIVES (NOUNS ARE DESCRIBED IN PART I). THE FIRST PART OF THE PAPER DISCUSSES AT SOME LENGTH STRESS PATTERNS OCCURRING IN SERBOCROATIAN NOUN PARADIGMS. THE PATTERNS ARE BASED ON THE DESCRIPTION OF STRESS SHIFTS GIVEN IN THE STANDARD TEXTBOOKS. NEXT, THE THREE TYPES OF NOMINALS ARE SUBDIVIDED INTO CLASSES, AND EACH CLASS IS PROVIDED WITH EXAMPLES AND DISCUSSED SEPARATELY. THE SURVEY OF ADJECTIVE FORMS IS EXTENSIVE, INCLUDING DISCUSSION OF DEFINITE-INDEFINITE FORMS, LENGTHS AND ENDINGS, MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES, ALTERNATION OF VOWEL LENGTH, INDECLINABLE ADJECTIVES, STRESS ALTERNATION, AND EXAMPLE PARADIGMS. (AW)

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AN OUTLINE OF SERBO-CROATIAN NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

by

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Part II

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Below are listed the stress patterns occurring in Serbo-Croatian noun paradigms. It is believed the list of patterns is exhaustive.[10] It must be recognized that there is perhaps more variability among standard speakers with regard to stress patterning than with regard to almost any other aspect of the standard language. The listing below is based on the description of stress shifts given in the standard handbooks, which in turn are mainly based on the work, now over a century old, of Vuk and Daničić. One is not long in contact with native speakers before one realizes that a noun which for one speaker belongs in a given stress pattern, for another speaker falls under another pattern or has fixed stress. For this reason no attempt has been made to give exhaustive listings of the nouns in the various categories, one or two examples being given under each pattern. I have however attempted to indicate the approximate importance of each pattern, i.e. whether restricted to but a few items, or whether a large number follow it. Furthermore, not a few of the shifts listed in the handbooks are absent in the speech of many or most standard speakers or else restricted to a few, often fossilized, items. As a concrete example the stress shift Í → É in pD (dative in prepositional phrase) is seemingly dead in polysyllabic stems for all or most standard speakers and either absent or greatly restricted even in monosyllables for a number of standard speakers whose speech I recorded.[11] Naturally, for speakers to whom this shift is non-occurrent, the words presumed to show it fall into another pattern. There is a widespread tendency to reduce radically

the number of → Í and → É shifts where such alternations would involve a shift in stress of more than one syllable (i.e. in polysyllables). There is also the tendency to reduce the number of patterns by abandoning some of the least frequent in favor of more frequent alternation patterns or fixed stress. These tendencies appear stronger in the eastern part of the Serbo-Croatian area than in the west.[12] Here follow the patterns:

Fixed stress. Examples: lâ:đa 'ship' retains its stress in all forms. Here too would belong rȁčȕ:n 'bill', account' Gsg. rȁčȕ:nȁ, cited above, with fixed ending stress automatically undergoing ←″— before in the Nsg. The nonsyllabic stems of nouns like pás 'dog', dnó 'bottom', tlȏ, tlé 'soil' (stems /p[a]s-, dn-, tl-/) show fixed ending stress with the first half truncated as there is no syllable for it to fall upon except in Gpl. Thus we have:

Nsg.	pȁs	Gsg. psȁ	Gpl. pȁ:sȁ:
	dnó	dnȁ	dȁ:nȁ:
	tló	tlȁ	tlȉ: ∽ tȁ:lȁ:
Npl.	tlȇ		tȁ:lȁ:

Stress patterns, arranged according to the non-automatic shifts occurent in the respective paradigms:

Shift of basic initial stress to ending stress (Í → É):

Í → É in pD sg. This shift is prescribed in traditional grammars for many monosyllabic type Bm non-animate noun-stems as well as a fair number of polysyllabic stems. However, it is dead in polysyllabic stems for almost all standard speakers and is absent in monosyllabic stems for many if not most standard speakers.

Nsg.	kȁt	pD	na kátú	'storey'
	rât		u rátú	'war'
	óbli:k		u oblí:kú	'form'
	góvo:r		o govórú	'speech'

Í → É in Gpl. This pattern comprises a considerable number of Bm animate monosyllabic noun-stems, most of which add the extension /-ov-/ in plural but including some of which do not. Many speakers tend to reduce the number of /-ov-/ extending nouns in this category. Alternate forms of two polysyllabic stems fall in this category (vítez 'knight' and gólu:b 'pigeon, dove').

Nsg.	drú:g	Gpl.	drugó:vá:	'comrade'
	mrá:v		mrá:vá:	'ant'
	sá:t		sá:tí:	'hour'

Í → É in Gpl. and pDsg. The limitations concerning the shift in both Gpl. and pDsg. mentioned above apply to this pattern too. Traditional grammars prescribe this pattern for a large number of Bm non-animate monosyllabic noun-stems, as well as a certain number of Bm and C polysyllabic noun-stems.

Nsg.	kóra:k	pDsg.	u korá:kú	Gpl.	korá:ká:	'step, pace'
	glá:s		u glá:sú		glasó:vá:	'voice, vote'
	rádo:st		o radóstí		radóstí:	'joy'

Í → É in GDIpl. This pattern includes a number of C nouns and a few Bm nouns, also óko 'eye', and úho 'ear'.

Nsg.	ní:t	Gpl.	ní:tí:	DIpl.	ní:tíma	'thread'
	gó:st		goští:~gostíju:		góstíma	'guest'
	dína:r		diná:rá:		diná:ríma	'dinar'
	óko		óčíju:		óčíma	'eye'

Í → É in GDIpl. and pDsg. (with reservations regarding pDsg. as stated above). Includes a considerable number of C nouns.

Nsg.	stvá:r	pDsg.	u stvá:rí	Gpl.	stvá:rí:	DIpl.	stvá:ríma 'thing'
	kčí:		o kčérí		kčérí:		kčéríma 'daughter'
	nó:č		u nóčí		nóčí:		nóčíma 'night'

Í → É in plural. This pattern comprises numerous Bn nouns, including some with the stem-extensions /-en-/, /-es-/

Nsg.	pólje	Npl. póljá	'field'
	klúpko	klúpká ~~klubá:ká:~~	'clump, lump'
	íme	iména	'name'
	čúdo	čudésa	'wonder, miracle'

Except for those with stem-extensions, these are all monosyllabic stems, excepting for jézero 'lake' in which the grammars prescribe Npl. jezéra etc., though for most speakers this is a fixed-stress noun.

Shift of basic ending stress to initial stress (É → Í):

É → Í in Vsg. This change is almost automatic for those nouns (A and Bm) which have Vsg. ending differing from Nsg. Exceptions however occur: budála 'fool', Vsg.; budálo for most speakers. Many speakers exclude polysyllabic stems from this category. Besides A and Bm nouns, it also includes Bn nouns denoting animate beings and adding the stem extension /-et-/.

Nsg.	ní:da	Vsg. ná:do	'hope'
	bórba	bórbo	'combat'
	olú:ja	ólujo	'storm'
	balerí:na	bálerino	'ballerina'
	Bó:žo	Bó:žo	(a name)

dȅ:tȇ (dijȅtȇ)	dȅ:te (dijete)	'child'
Gsg. živȏtȃ	žívote	'life'
lažȏvȃ	lȃžove	'liar'
orȃ:čȃ	óra:ču	'plowman'
pomoćnȋ:kȃ	pȏmoćni:če	'assistant'
vȋnogradȃ:rȃ	vínograda:ru	'wine grower'

É → Í in Vsg. and Vpl. This class includes a very small number of A nouns.

Nsg. žȅnȃ	Vsg. žéno	Vpl. žȅne	'woman, wife'
sȅstrȃ	sȅstro	sȅstre	'sister'

É → Í in GDI (andV?)sg. This change is limited to one example

Nsg. vrȇmȇ (vrijȅmȇ)	Gsg. vrȇmena	Npl. vremȅnȃ	'time, weather'

É → Í in pl. This includes a fair number of monosyllabic Bn nouns

Nsg. sȅlȏ	Npl. séla	'village'

For very many standard speakers, some nouns of this type with inserted /a/ in Gpl. (rȅbrȏ 'rib', dȏbrȏ 'estate, property, good' bȅdrȏ 'thigh', sȅdlȏ 'saddle') retain É in that case.

Nsg. rȇbrȏ	Npl. rȇbra	Gpl. rebȃ:rȃ:	'rib'

É → Í in plural and Vsg. This pattern comprises a few monosyllabic Bm stems with inserted /a/ before Ø.

Nsg. nȏvȃc	Vsg. nȏ:vče	Npl. nȏ:vci	'coin'

É → Í in Vsg. and VNApl. This includes a fair number of monosyllabic A (including Am)stems:

Nsg. slȗ:gȃ	Vsg. slȗ:go	VNApl. slȗ:ge	'servant'
ȏsȃ	ósо	ȏse	'wasp'
ȏ:vcȃ	ó:vco	ȏ:vce	'sheep'

É → Í in VAsg and VNApl. Comprises a good number of A stems; though prescribed for a fair number of polysyllabic stems (particularly nouns with the suffixes /-in-/, /-ot-/) most standard speakers have fixed stress in these latter (i.e.polysyllabic stems).

Nsg. strá:na	Vsg. strá:no	Asg. strá:nu	VNApl. strá:ne	'side'
góra	gôro	góru	gôre	'mountain'
planína	plánino	plánino	plánine	'mountain'

É → Í in VAD singular and VNA plural. This includes a very small number of monosyllabic A stems, most of which may optionally show the immediately preceding pattern:

Nsg. glá:vá	Vsg. glá:vo	Dsg. glá:vi (or glâ:vi)	Asg. glá:vu	VNApl. glá:ve 'head'

Shifts of Stress one syllable forward or back (←″ or ″→):

″→ in plural. Potential geminate stress shifts one syllable backward in plural. This affects a number of monosyllabic Bm stems which add /-ov-/ in plural.

Nsg. jé:ž	Gsg. jé:ža	Npl. jéžévi	Gpl. jéžé:va:	'porcupine'
nó:j	nója	nójévi	nôjé:va:	'ostrich'
úgao	úgla	úglóvi	úgló:va:	'corner, angle

←″ in Gpl. Geminate stress shifts one syllable forward in Gpl. This pattern affects a number of polysyllabic A and Bm as well as a few Bn nouns.

Nsg. ázbúka	Gpl. ázbu:ka:	'(Cyrillic) alphabet'
jélén	jéle:na:	'stag'
górânin	góra:na:	'mountaineer'
pí:smó	pí:sa:ma:	'letter'
góvédo	góve:da:	'beeve'

Patterns showing combinations of two of the above changes:

Ê ←″— in Gpl., → Í in Vsg. This pattern is prescribed for a fair number of Bm stems, but appears to be absent in polysyllabic stems for many or most standard speakers, who have fixed stress instead.

Nsg.	glȗ:mȃc	Vsg.	glȗ:nče	Npl.	glȗ:ma:ca:	'actor'
	sinȏ:vȃc		sínо:vče		sínȏ:va:ca:	'nephew, (son of brother)'
	Dalmatí:nȃc		Dȃlmati:nče		Dalmátí:na:ca:	'Dalmatian'

—″→ in pl.,→É in pDsg. Potential disyllabic stress, realized as single stress in stem-initial syllable is shifted one syllable back in Gpl. and to ending in pDsg. This pattern comprises a large number of monosyllabic Bm nouns adding /-ov-/ in plural which designate inanimates. The reservations expressed above regarding É in pDsg. apply here; as far as this latter shift does not take places, there nouns would fall into —″→ in plural pattern above.

Nsg.	sȃ:t	Gsg.	sȃ:ta	pDsg.	o sȃ:tú	Npl.	sȃ:tȏvi	'watch'
	dȏ:m		dȏma		u dómȗ		dómȏvi	'home'

Ê ←″— in pl., Í in Vsg. Basic ending stress in singular becomes initial in Vsg.; is shifted from ending one syllable forward into the augmented stem in the plural. This pattern comprises a large number of monosyllabic Bm nouns adding /-ov-/ in plural

Nsg.	snȏp	Gsg.	snȏpá	Vsg.	snópe	Npl.	snȏpȏvi	'sheaf'
	stȏ:		stȏlá		stȏle		stȏlȏvi	'table'
	dvȏ:r		dvȏ:rá		dvȏ:re		dvȏrȏvi	'court'

Ê ←" in GDIsg., →Î in plural and Vsg. Ending stress in NAsg. shifts from ending one syllable forward onto the augmented stem in the GDIsg. and becomes initial stress in plural (before the stem-extension /-a:d-/ and in the Vsg. This pattern comprises a number of Bn stems adding the extension /-et-/ in singular and /-a:d-/ in plural

NAsg. kȕ:mčè Vsg. kȕ:mče Gsg. kȕ:mčéta Ipl. kȕ:ča:d 'godchild'
sirôčè sîroče sirôčéta sîroča:d 'orphan'

1.9 Indeclinable nouns.

The word dôba has no inflection for many speakers of Serbo-Croatian, but must be classified as a noun because it fills only those syntactic frames characteristic of nouns. In syntactic congruence it is neuter singular and inflected adjectives accompanying it are always NA even in frames requiring other cases.

examples:

U tô: dôba su se Slovê:nî presêlîli na Bâlkâ:n.

In that period the Slavs migrated to the Balkans.

U stâ:ro: dôba nêki: su bîlî rôbôvi.

In ancient times some were slaves.

Numerals

2.0 The numerals must also be classified as a special class of indeclinable nominals, since they too only fill noun frames. The numerals are:

2. m.n. dvâ: f. dvê: (dvíje)
3. trî:
4. čétíri
5. pé:t
6. šé:st
7. sédam
8. ósam
9. déve:t
10. dése:t
11. jedánâest
12. dvâ:nâest
13. trî:nâest
14. četȝrnâest
15. pétnâest
16. šésnâest
17. sedámnâest
18. osámnâest
19. devétnâest
20. dvâ:dése:t
30. trî:dése:t
40. četȝrdése:t
50. pedése:t
60. šezdése:t
70. sedamdése:t
80. osamdése:t
90. devedése:t
100. stó:

and compounds of which the foregoing form the last element, plus m.n. óba f. óbe (óbje) 'both'.

The following are not grammatically numerals: jedan 'one' (and its compounds) is an adjective and stótina '100', (h)íljáda '1000 tísuća 'thousand' (used principally in Croatia), miljún (Croatian) or miljón (Serbian) 'million', miljárda 'billion' are nouns. Likewise the numerical collectives dvóje, tróje, četvero, etc. are nouns and adjectives (see 2.1).

In normal colloquial speech numerals have the following allologs. Thus, jedánâest ∽ jedâná:jst or jedâná:js (and all other numerals ending in -aest have allologs in -ajs(t)) dvâ:dése:t ∽ dvâ:js(t), trî:dése:t ∽ trî:js(t).

The numerals dvâ:, trî:, čétíri and óba have inflected forms, which are however not current in colloquial spoken language, except when they function either alone without accompanying

nouns or else in conjunction with pronouns, e.g. vȇma dvéma 'to you two'. In other usages, dvá:, trí:, čétiri function, as do the other numerals, namely as undeclined nominals: Úzéo sam nôvác od dvá: dru:ga. 'I took the money from two friends.' The declined forms of these three numerals, as given by the grammars, are:

	2		3	4
	m.n.	f.		
NA	dvá:	dvé: (dvíje)	trí:	čétiri
G	dvá:jú	dvé:jú: (dví:jú:)	trí:jú:	četirí:ju:
DI	dvá:má	dvé:má (dvjéma)	trí:má	čétirma
	'both'			
NA	óba	óbe (óbje)		
G	obá:jú	obí:jú:		
DI		óbema (óbjema)		

The forms in parentheses above are the respective ijekavski variants. In the usage of many, dvé:má (dvjéma) replaces dvá:má in the m.n. DI.

The above inflected forms insofar as they occur in the written and spoken language are best treated as defective numerical adjectives occurring only in GDIpl., since there forms behave syntactically like regular adjectives, while the above listed numerals do not, but as stated above, behave rather like nouns with limited syntactic distribution.

2.1 Collective numerals

The collective numerals dvóje 'two', tróje 'three' in the spoken language function as indeclinable nouns and may be accompanied by nouns in the G (singular for two, three, four; plural for five and above). Their forms are dvóje 'two', tróje 'three'

- čétvoro ∽ čétvero 'four' (collective numerals higher than four are formed by adding the suffixes /-or-o ∽ -er-o/ to the stem of the cardinal numerals, e.g. pétoro 'five', sédmoro 'seven', ósmoro 'eight'; dvôje and trôje are formed on the stems /dvoj-/, /troj-/ with the neuter noun ending /-e/.

While the colloquial language treats these as indeclinables, the grammatical handbooks give a full array of forms, with numerous variants, as follows. It should be noted that, as far as these forms are used, accompanying nouns are uniformly in the G (unlike the cardinal numerals, where NA are accompanied by nouns in the G; while in the other cases the numerals, as far as they are declined are accompanied by nouns in the same case).

	2	3	4
NA	dvôje	trôje	čétvoro ∽ čétvero
G	dvô:gá ∽ dvôjega	trô:gá ∽ trójega	četvô:róga ∽ četvô:rgá ∽ četvé:rgá
D	dvô:mé ∽ dvójemu ∽ dvô:má	trô:mé ∽ trójemu ∽ trô:má	četvorô:mé ∽ četverô:mé ∽ četvô:rmá ∽ četvé:rmá
I	dvô:ma	trô:má	četvô:rmá ∽ četvé:rmá

With pluralia tantum and with items which come in sets or pairs, collective numerical adjectives are used, declined in all the respective plural case forms (indefinite endings) on the same stems as the indeclinable collectives; thus dvóji, dvôje, dvôja, dvôji:h, dvôji:ma; čétvori, sédmori, etc.

póprávak trôji:h kô:la:	'the repair of three cars'
četvore čárápe	'four (pairs of) stockings'

Pronouns

3.1 Personal pronouns.

Enclitic forms are given in parentheses, alongside the respective full form.

personal

Sg.

	1	2	reflexive
N	já:	tí:	--
AG	méné (me)	tébé (te)	sébé (se)
D	méní (mi)	tébí (ti)	sébí (si)
I	mnó:m	tóbo:m	sóbo:m
	∽ mnó:mě		

pl.

	1	2
N	mí:	ví:
AG	ná:s (nas)	vá:s (vas)
DI	náma (nam)	váma (vam)

The enclitic form si, though in colloquial use in the western part of Serbo-Croatian speech area and though used by older Croatian writers, is no longer recognized as standard by the normative grammars.

Enclitic forms are not used after prepositions, except in archaic language, where they occur exclusively in accusative functio the (last) vowel of the preposition being lengthened and the (first) vowel receiving simple (falling) stress: ná: me = na méné 'upon me', úzaa me 'alongside me'. Some traditional grammars do not admit enclitic forms in the genitive, but this is clearly mistaken, because of examples like Ô:n me se bójí:. 'He's afraid of me', where me is clearly genitive.

	sg. m.	n.	f.	pl. m.	n.	f.
N	ó:n	ónó	óná	óní	óná	óné
A, G	njégá (ga∽nj)		njú: (je∽ju) njé: (je)	njíh (ih)		
D	njémú (mu)		njó:j (joj)	njíma (im)		
I	njí:m∽njí:mé		njó:m∽njó:mé			

The enclitic alternate nj is used only for masculine accusative after preposition in archaic language: zá: nj 'after him', préda: nj 'before him'. The enclitic ju is used in formal language to replace accusative je, when it would otherwise appear in sequence with the enclitic verb form je 'is'; colloquial language avoids this by using the full form njú:. The stem of the third personal pronouns is /on-/ in N (with lengthening of the stem before Ø) and /nj-/ in the remaining cases.

3.2. Interrogative

	(animate)	(inanimate)
N	kó∽tkó	štó∽šta
A, G	kógá	čégá
D	kómé∽kómú	čému
I	kí:m∽kí:mé	čí:m∽čí:mé

Štó is used in the western part of the Serbo-Croatian speech area, šta in the East, tkó is a formal variant used in the West. The animate pronoun has the stem /k-/, the inanimate /č-/ (∽/št-/ in NA; cf. dialectal čá = štó). Note that the non-N forms of the third person and interrogative pronouns have the special short adjective endings; in the N /on-/ has the indefinite adjective endings while the interrogatives have a special ending /-o/ (∽/-a/).

The Adjective

4.0 The Serbo-Croatian adjective distinguishes the following form categories: case, number and gender. The distinctive case forms are five: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, and instrumental. The numbers are singular (sg.) and plural (pl.) and the genders masculine (m), neuter (n) and feminine (f). These categories intersect so that every adjective has forms for each case in each of the three genders in both numbers. But note that the forms are not necessarily separate forms. We will see below that different cases or different genders may share the same forms.

Many adjectives also distinguish a category of definite vs. indefinite. This distinction is gradually breaking down in the standard colloquial speech, so that there is considerable confusion and interchangeability in the use of definite and indefinite forms.

The indefinite form is required in predicative function, while in attributive usage, the definite is, according to the normative grammars, required in conjunction with the deictics (/t-/ 'that' etc.); otherwise in attributive function occurrence of definite or indefinite is governed by semantic factors (the definite having a meaning somewhat like that of the definite article in those languages which possess it). In actual practice, there seems to be a considerable amount of free variation with no very clear distinction of the two forms in attributive functions. Definite and indefinite are distinguished (1) by the shape of the ending in the NA only, the definite in all but one case being a long vowel, the indefinite being the corresponding short vowel; and (2) by stress in some (not all) adjectives, the definite forms of such adjectives (all cases) having stress shifted one syllable

forward fror its position in the indefinite (see below). The facts that in many or most varieties of standard Serbo-Croatian stress and length contrasts undergo widespread neutralizations in items not under primary stress and that attributes usually do not receive primary stress have doubtless contributed to the above mentioned breakdown and confusion of the definite/indefinite contrast. Because of the lack of a thorough and widespread survey as to what standard colloquial usage in this respect actually is, the definite/indefinite forms are here given as in the (mostly normative and archaizing) handbooks, except where those are blatantly at odds with overwhelming spoken usage (i.e. regarding the short noun-like indefinite endings of the GD sg.m.n. mentioned below).

Not all adjectives show both definite and indefinite forms. Among those that have only definite forms are all comparative/superlative forms (jáči: 'stronger'), forms with certain suffixes, as /-sk-/ (fráncú:ski: 'French'), /-j-/ (pásji: 'of a dog') plus quite a number of others (má:li: 'little', désnî: 'right', etc.), as well as certain "pronominal" adjectives (the deictics t- 'that' on- 'that over there', ov- 'this' plus kôjî: 'which', čîjî: 'whose'). Those having only indefinite forms include possessive adjectives, both personal possessive adjectives (mô:j 'my', njégôv 'his') as well as those formed by adding the suffixes /-ov-/ or /-in-/ to noun stems (brátov 'brother's', séstrîn 'sister's') and certain others, as sáv 'all' and those with the suffix complex /-ak-(a)v-/ (kákáv 'what kind).

4.1 Every adjective form consists of a stem plus an ending.

The stem of an adjective consists of one or more syllables, or, in the case of a small number of adjectives, is non-syllabic, consisting of a consonant or sequence of consonants:

stems					
/pla:v-/	'blue, blond'	Nsg.m.	pláav	Nsg.f.	plaává
/s[a]v-/	'all'		sáv		svá

Endings may have the following phonemic shapes: zero (one variant of one ending; the Nm.sg. indefinite), single or geminate vowel, single or geminate vowel plus consonant, or vowel consonant vowel. Three endings which begin with o (Nn.sg., G m.n.sg., and D m.n.sg.) show the morphophonemic alternation /o~e/ (/e/ after palatal C, /o/ elsewhere).

4.2 Basic (definite) adjective endings:

Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
N	-i:	-o:/-e:	-a:
A	~		-u:
G	-o:g(a)/-e:g(a)		-e:
D	-o:m(e) ~ -o:mu/-e:mu		-o:j
I	-i:m		-o:m

Numerative G sg. m.n. -a

pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	-i:	-e:	-a:
A	-e:		
G		-i:h	
DI		i:m(a)	

indefinite endings.

Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
N	-Ø	-o/-e	-a
A	~		-u

pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	-i	-e	-a
A	-e		

A special numerative ("dual") form of the G sg. m.n. (ending /-a/) obligatorily occurs when the adjective appears in a noun phrase headed by the numerals dvá: 'two', trí: 'three', čétíri 'four' or a compound numeral terminated by one of them. Note that this cannot be said to be an indefinite form, since it occurs in all adjectives, including those which do not show indefinite forms: dvá: makédó:nska juná:ká 'two Macedonian heroes'.

Indefinite endings occur in the nominative and accusative singular and plural. Except for the masculine (definite /-i:/, indefinite Ø), the indefinite ending is identical with the definite ending but with shortened vowel. The deictic adjectives on the stems /ov-/, /on-/, /t-/ have a special definite ending /-a:j/ in the nominative singular masculine.

For the genitive and dative singular masculine and neuter normative grammars list short noun-like endings G /-a/, D /-u/ for the indefinite. These are however essentially dead in the colloquial spoken standard, though, to be sure, still frequently encountered in writing. Otherwise, in all cases excepting NA singular and plural, definite and indefinite forms are not differentiated by ending (but may be differentiated by stress; see below).

Facultatively bisyllabic endings (listed above with the facultative vowel of the second syllable in parentheses), namely GDsg.m. and n. and DIpl. m.f.n. occur in their longer or shorter forms in more or less free variation depanding on various factors as style, tempo, "euphony", etc. The longer forms tend to occur when the adjective is first in a string of adjectives with the same ending or when the adjective occurs alone without a noun phrase head. In the Ipl. the longer form is required when the adjective (occurring alone) might otherwise be confused with the Isg. Thus, s nâ:jbolji:ma 'with the best (ones)' requires final /a/ to avoid confusion with s nâ:jbolji:m 'with the best (one)'. The forms with final /-u/ in the D.sg.m.n. are used less frequently (and idiolectically) than those with final /-e/ when the initial vowel is /o/, but is required if the initial vowel is /e/.

Short ending forms of the GD sg. m. n. used in pronominal adjectives: The following adjective endings with shortened initial vowel are used by certain deictic, possessive, and other pronominal adjectives; stems /t-/ 'that', /on-/ 'that over there', /ov-/ 'this', /moj-/, 'my', /tvoj-/ 'thy', /svoj-/ 'own', /naš-/ 'our', /vaš-/ 'your', /koj-/ 'which, that', /čij-/ 'whose', /sv-/ 'all', and /sa:m-/ 'self':

G -og(a)/-eg(a)

D -om(e)

~ -om(u)/-em(u)

The forms with initial /e/ occur after "soft" stems (namely, those ending in /j/, /š/ and also /s[a]v-/). The distribution of mono- and bisyllabic variants is governed by the same factors as in other adjectives. In the Gpl. /sv-/ has in addition to /-i:h/ the variant /-iju:/.

Stems ending in /oj/ (/ moj-, tvoj-, svoj-, koj-/) have variant, contracted forms with these endings, whereby /j/ is lost and the endings with initial /e/ are consequently replaced by endings with initial /o/: /moj-ega/ ⟶ /mo-oga/; the resultant double vowel is, of course, the traditional long vowel, as in N sg. /sol-Ø/ 'salt' ⟶ /sȏo/, i.e. /sȏ:/. In addition to loss of /j/, there is a change of stress as well, so that we have the alternate forms (the contracted forms being more frequent):

G mȏjég(a) ∽ mȏ:g(a) kojéga ∽ kȏ:ga

D mȏjému ∽ mȏ:mu, mȏ:me kójému ∽ kȏ:mu, kȏ:me

4.3 Morphophonemic changes affecting the adjective stem.

Stems ending in /l/ change /l/ to /o/ before a zero ending (see o.5d)

Nsg.f.indef. vésela Nsg. m. indef. véseo

zlá zȃo

For some speakers, certain stems, e.g. the stems /topal-/ 'warm', /gol-/ 'naked', do not follow this rule; thus, tópal rather than tȏpao. (Nm.sg. indefinite).

Inserted /a/ between the last two consonants of the stem before zero ending.

Nsg.f.indef. svá Nsg.m.indef. sȃv

zlá zȃo

krá:tká krá:ták

Voicing assimilation:

stem: /niz[a]k-/ Nsg.m.indef. nízak Nsg.f.indef. níska 'low'

/te:ž[a]k-/ té:žak té:ška 'heavy'

Loss of dental stop between /s z/ and /n/

/čast[a]n-/ částan čásna 'honorable'

4.4 Alternation of vowel length

(a) In the following adjectives a long stem vowel occurs before zero ending, short vowel elsewhere.

Nsg. f.	mójá	Nsg.m.	mó:j	'my'
	tvójá		tvó:j	'your'
	svójá		svó:j	'one's own'
	bósá		bó:s	'barefoot'

(b) Before /o/ resulting from the change /l → o/ before word-boundary, long (geminate) vowel is shortened. This affects one stem /bě̯:l-/ 'white': Nsg.f.indef. bé:lá (bijélá) vs. Nsg.m.indef. béo (bío).

(c) The stem /star-/ 'old' lengthens the stem vowel in the definite forms: Nsg.f. stára or stárá vs. stá:ra:. Some speakers have this pattern in other adjectives as well: zdráva vs. zdrá:va:, práva vs. prá:va:.

4.5 Stress alternations

(1) Before the zero ending of Nsg. m. indefinite ← automatic occurs where the second half of geminate stress falls on the ending:

žú:tá	vs. žú:t	'yellow'
visóká	vísok	'high'
zelená	zélen	'green'

This shift also occurs in a large number (but not all) items in which the second half of geminate stress would fall on moveable /a/; the determining factor here seems to be that moveable /a/ precedes /r/ or /l/:

dóbrá	vs. dóbar	'good'
ná:glá	vs. ná:gao	'precipitous'
své:tlá (svijétlá)	vs. své:tao (svíjetao)	'bright'
podmú:klá (or pódmu:kla)	vs. pódmú:kao	'treacherous'

There is no other intraparadigmatic alternation within the indefinite forms.

(2) Alternations between the indefinite and definite stems. Where such alternation occurs, the definite stem shows the shift ←" There is no intraparadigmatic alternation within the forms on the definite stem. Examples (N.sg.f. indefinite vs. definite):

blȃ:gȃ	vs.	blȃ:ga:	'mild'
čé:stȃ		čé:sta:	'frequent'
grȗ:bȃ		grȗ:ba:	'crude, rough'
krȉ:vȃ		krȉ:va:	'crooked, wrong'
gȏlȃ		gȏla:	'naked'
dȏbrȃ		dȏbra:	'good'
zelȇnȃ		zȇlena:	'green'
dubȏkȃ		dȗboka:	'deep'

4.6 Indeclinable adjectives

Certain uninflected elements must be classed as adjectives, because they occur only in syntactic frames characteristic of adjectives.

Dȃ:j mu málo tȃ:zé svȉnjskȏ:g mé:sa.

'Give ~~me~~ him a little fresh pork.'

Tȏ: je tȃ:zé mé:so. 'That's fresh meat.'

Kȗ:pio sam portȃ:bél písȃću: maší:nú.

'I bought a portable typewriter.'

There is a fair number of such uninflected adjectives and all of them are loans from foreign, non-Slavic languages (principally Turkish and German). The degree of acceptability to speakers varies. Some use them only as predicate nominatives. Others use

them attributively as in the examples above. Many educated speakers recognize them as foreign borrowings and would avoid them in written or formal oral communication.

4.7 Example paradigms

In the examples below the definite forms are given in all cases, as are the indefinite forms for the NA; indefinite forms for the remaining cases have the same endings as the definite, but retain the accent of the definite stem. The numerative genitive variant of the m.n.sg. /-a/, which occurs in all adjectives, is not listed in the example paradigms below.

definite stem zélén-
indefinite stem zelén- } 'green'

	Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
def.	N	zéléni:	zéléno:	zéléna:
	A	~		zélénu:
	G	zéléno:g(a)		zéléne:
	D	zéléno:m(e~u)		zéléno:j
	I	zéléni:m		zéléno:m
indef.	N	zélén	zelénó	zelénâ
	A	~		zelénú
	pl	masculine	feminine	neuter
def.	N	zéléni:	zélene:	zéléna:
	A	zélene:		
	G	zéléni:h		
	DI	zéléni:m(a)		
indef.	N	zelêní	zelêné	zelêná
	A	zelêné		

definite stem } vrú:ć- 'hot'
indefinite stem }

	Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
def.	N	vrú:ći:	vrú:će:	vrú:ća:
	A	∽		vrú:ću:
	G	vrú:će:g(a)		vrú:će:
	D	vrú:će:m(u)		vrú:ćo:j
	I	vrú:ći:m		vrú:ćo:m
indef.	N	vrú:ć	vrú:će	vrú:ća
	A	∽		vrú:ću

	pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
def.	N	vrú:ći:	vrú:će:	vrú:ća:
	A	vrú:će:		
	G	vrú:ći:h		
	DI	vrú:ći:m(a)		
indef.	N	vrú:ći	vrú:će	vrú:ća
	A	vrú:će		

t- 'that' (on- 'that over there' ov- 'this' have same inflexion)

	Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
	N	tá:j	tó:	tá:
	A	∽		tú:
	G	tóg(a)		té:
	D	tóm (e ∽ u)		tó:j
	I	tí:mé ∽ tí:m		tó:m

	pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
	N	tí:	té:	tá:
	A	té:		
	G	tí:h		
	DI	tíma ∽ tí:m		

moj- 'my' (tvoj- 'thy', svoj- 'one's own', koj- 'which' have same inflexion)

Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
N	mó:j	mójé	mójá
A	~		mójú
G	mójég(a) ~ mó:g(a)		mójé:
D	mójém(u) ~ mó:m(e ~ u)		mójó:j
I	móji:m		mójó:m

pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	mójí	mójé	mójá
A	mójé		
G	mójí:h		
DI	mójí:m(a)		

naš- 'our' (vaš- 'your' has the same inflexion)

Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
N	náš	náše	náša
A	~		nášu
G	nášeg(a)		náše:
D	nášem(u)		nášo:j
I	náši:m		nášo:m

pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	náši	náše	náša
A	náše		
G	náši:h		
DI	nášim(a)		

čij- 'whose'

Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
N	číjí:	číjé:	číjá:
A	~		číjú:
G	číjég(a)		číjé:
D	číjém(u)		číjó:j
I	číjí:m		číjó:m

pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	číjí:	číjé:	číjá:
A	číjé:		
G	číjí:h		
DI	číjí:m(a)		

koj- 'which'

Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
N	kój́í:	kój́é:	kój́á:
A	~		kój́ú:
G	kój́ég(a) ~ kó:g(a)		kój́é:
D	kój́ém(u) ~ kó:m(u ~ e)		kój́ó:j
I	kój́í:m		kój́ó:m

pl.	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	kój́í:	kój́é:	kój́á:
A	kój́é:		
G	kój́í:h		
DI	kój́í:m(a)		

sv- 'all'

Sg.	masculine	neuter	feminine
N	sáv	své	svá
A	~		svú
G	svégá		své:
D	svémú		svó:j
I	svím		svó:m
pl.			
N	svím	své	svá
A	své		
G	svím ~ svíjú:		
DI	svím(á)		

Footnotes

1

It is interesting that Serbs from the western part of Yugoslavia, who are often native speakers of dialects which in prosodic and other features are closer to the prescribed norm, based on Vuk and Daničić, than is the speech of the capital, will, upon migrating to Belgrade, consciously or unconsciously, almost invariably hasten to adapt their speech to the urban koiné ("incorrect" though certain features of the latter may be, in the normativist view).

2

The above-cited article of M. Stanić proposes a three declensional system, essentially the same as the one herein, though he does not explicitly set up the Genitive singular ending as the differentiating criterion.

2a

In moz[a]k- 'brain' plus two nouns of rare occurrence dro:z[a]k- 'thrush', briz[a]k- 'jet, spray' voicing assimilation is progressive rather than regressive, so that cases with non-Ø ending are on the stem mozg-: mózak, mózga; dró:zak, dró:zga; brizg- brízak, brízga. These are the only cases of progressive assimilation; in all other occurrances, regressive voicing assimilation is automatic.

3

In the case of the extensions /-et-, -en-/ I have chosen to analyse the final V of the NA singular form as the ending /-e/ rather than a truncated variant of the extension (which, of course, it was historically). My reasons for this analysis are several:

The /-e/ is identical with the ending /-e/ of other neuter nouns and the Sprachgefühl of natives seems to regard it as an ending; there is the parallelism with /-o/ in čúdo, čudésá, which is clearly an ending and not a truncation of the extension /-es-/; finally there are some derivatives which do not show the extension (dété 'child', détínjast 'childish'; já:jé 'egg', jájá:r 'egg seller').

4

Stevanović is in error when he states (op.cit.p.207) that fond 'fund' is the only recent borrowing to add the stem extension /-ov-/; in fact it is very productive with borrowings: tí:m 'team', (Npl. tímóvi) 'team', džíp (Npl. džípovi) 'jeep', méč (Npl. méčevi) 'match (in sports)', krós (Npl. krósovi) 'cross country race' etc.

5

For at least some speakers in the western part of the Serbo-Croatian area such nouns are declined as regular Bm in plural (Npl. ending /-i/, cf. Brabec, p.61); for such speakers these nouns are Bm nouns of the same type as Má:rko 'Mark' and the category Bm/n is absent from their system.

6

Cf.fn 3 above.

7

There is also a special pronoun ending stress, both halves of which fall on a disyllabic ending, e.g. njógá, kógá, čégá.

8

Initial stress in nouns could be further divided into (1) true initial stress, which in the case of those speech varieties

in which the domain of stress shift includes proclitics (principally prepositions) shift this stress as a single stress to the first syllable of the proclitic and (2)potential geminate stress in which the first half of geminate stress appears on the last syllable of a preceding proclitic, the second half remaining on the initial syllable of the noun, e.g. (1) ú gla:vu 'into the head' (2) prekó kúče 'over the house'. However, since within the noun itself both varieties behave the same, i.e. are potentially geminate when shifted to the right (i.e. toward the end of the word), they are not further differentiated here.

It should also be remarked that stress shifts to proclitics are characteristic only of conservative and archaic speech varieties, mainly occurrent in the western part of the Serbo-Croatian speech area. They are not characteristic of innovating varieties and particularly not of the major cultural centers, Belgrade and Zagreb.

9

It must be pointed out that in the speech of many educated speakers of such centers as Belgrade this shift is not entirely automatic, but that in some items (all recent borrowings) an ending stress instead of shifting before zero ending is simply truncated leaving a single stress on the stem-final syllable. Thus,

Gsg.	cirkuzántá	Nsg. cirkuzánt	'circus performer'
	komedijántá	komedijánt	'comediar'
	pacijéntá	pacijént	'patient'
	lavabóá	lavabó	'wash-stand'

This pattern is of course condemned as "non-standard" by the normativists, but it is nonetheless quite widespread among educated speakers in the prestige centers.

10

A few alternate patterns affecting single words have not been listed. Thus mí:r 'peace' which otherwise falls in pattern Ê → Î in Vsg. has, according to Vuk an alternate Isg. mí:rom which would constitute a separate pattern Ê → Í in VIsg. Likewise čȏvek (čȏvjek) 'man, human being' has two alternate patterns, both confined to it alone: one is Ê → Î in NVsg., the other Ŝ → I in Vsg.

11

This is the rationale of my combining traditional locative and dative into one case, D: Standard speakers either make no accent difference between "locative" and "dative" or, if there is an accent shift, one accent position occurs when the dative is in non-prepositional use and another when dative occurs as object of a preposition; thus the two accent variants are in complementary distribution. The reason for this is that the only preposition in use with the traditional dative was k 'toward', now dead in spoken usage (replaced by prema or other prepositions), while the "locative" occurred only as object of various prepositions. Here pD indicates Dative as prepositional object = traditional locative.

12

The two major centers, Zagreb and Belgrade, which today serve as prestige magnets for cultural emulation are both

castigated by normativists for their tendencies to faulty accentuation. And indeed Zagreb lies in a dialect area which has an accent system (kajkavski) quite different from that of the "classic" Vuk-Daničić "four accent" system (further, the local dialect of Zagreb is reported by Magner to lack length distinction and to possess but a single stress), while Belgrade, though possessing the same categories of prosodic phonemes as the Vuk-Daničić area, distributes them somewhat differently in its local speech.